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576 606 291

and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

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Because of the veneration of ancestors and the necessity for having male children in order to carry on the ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, "are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?"

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Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely "assimilated" as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family *A* gives a girl to family *B*, family *B* reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family *A*. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation—a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

581 565

The influence of wealth on marriage is of several kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when

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597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off then the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

596 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly
576 seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grand-
264 father presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables in each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

576 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a
272 guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

576 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or
606 lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always
291 keep some distance between them. When there is a quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-in-law is always that "distance has not been kept." This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed. In her husband's home she must always wear a gown

273 [733] at New Year and at weddings, funerals, and other festivals. The women do the distilling. Drinking too much is a weakness of Monguor men, and the women also like to drink a cup. As the distilling is crude, the liquor is by no means a healthy drink. In order to avoid drunken fights at the great spring and autumn festivals, liquor is drunk only at the end of the festivities.

276 Monguor men smoke all day long, using Chinese tobacco and the long-stemmed Chinese pipe with a small brass bowl holding less than a thimbleful of tobacco. Often, instead of buying a wooden pipe stem from a peddler, the men make them for themselves, using the leg bone of a sheep. The pipe is hung from the belt, balanced by a small pouch which contains tinder and some small flints and has a steel 'keel." To strike a light, a piece of flint and a pinch of tinder are held between forefinger and thumb and struck against the steel. Women seldom smoke.

733 The practice of smoking opium has to some extent spread from the Chinese to the Monguors, and wherever there is an opium addict the whole family is sure to be ruined. Some T'u-ssu allow their subjects to raise opium, while others forbid it.

CLOTHING AND HEADDRESSES

291 For centuries the Monguors have been proud of their national costume, though it is true that in some Monguor communities Chinese clothing had become commoner than the Monguor costume by 1922. The adoption of Chinese clothing is probably due to the fact that the Monguor costume was despised by the Chinese wives of chiefs of clans and rich men. The enrollment of Chinese families in the Monguor clans has also had an influence. In 1949 the Communists, when they overran the Monguor country, forbade the wearing of the national costume—presumably as part of a policy of obliterating the separate customs and traditions of small minorities.

The traditional men's costume is much less elaborate than that of the women. The trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are cut in the Chinese style with a loose crotch and baggy seat. It is said that in former days the men did not wear trousers at all, and even today the old men living north of Weiyuanp'u do not wear trousers under their gowns unless they are going to town.[9] Monguor boots resemble Tibetan boots, having a "shoe" made like a moccasin and a cloth leg reaching to the knee. The legs of the trousers are stuffed into the boots. Sometimes the leg of the boot is embroidered. In winter some Monguors wear leather boots bought in the city.

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[9] It is possible that the Monguor tradition on this subject is confused. Trousers have been part of the Mongol costume from ancient times. On the other hand, the Tibetans, especially the nomad Tibetans, do not wear trousers, and it is possible that the custom among some Monguors of not wearing trousers is due to Tibetan influence. On the subject see Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, Vienna, Verlag Herold, 1949, and Ekvall, *op. cit.*—O. L.

[P. 118a]

291 The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman's gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman's working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p'u-lu*). The ends of the men's sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a "pigtail" which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.

302 [858] A boy's head is not shaved until he is seven or eight, at which time he begins to braid his hair in a "pigtail." A boy's costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

306 The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the "flower of longevity" from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this "flower of longevity" is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man's finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

173 291 512 The national legends and traditions of the Monguors are associated much more with the striking costumes of the women than with the comparatively simple costumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat'o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the

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Prince of Chin. According to the legend this prince, "blessed by heaven and all the spirits," begat thirteen sons from his nine wives. Because he was fond of magnificence and display, he designed a different costume for each wife, and this is supposed to be the origin of the nine main designs of Monguor women's costume to this day.

The significance of the Monguor national costume even in recent times is illustrated by the following story, which stirred up interest throughout the Monguor country. In 1913 the Living Buddha of the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu [10] forbade the Monguor women living in his territory to wear their national costume and ordered them to adopt the Tibetan style of dress. Passions ran high against this order. Although the Monguors had for centuries supported the monastery with their offerings, they ceased to appear at the monastery festivals and began to make their offerings to other monasteries. Even the lamas of Monguor origin left the monastery and enrolled in other monasteries. The result was that the monastery of T'ient'ang Ssu began to enroll Chinese novices and the whole spirit of the institution was changed.

The costumes of the Monguor women are much more elaborate and distinctive than those of the men. Like the men, however, the women do not wear underclothes, nor do they have nightgowns. Their bed is a piece of felt spread on the sleeping platform; there are no sheets or pillowcases, and at night they simply undress and cover themselves with roughly woven blankets or sheepskins.

A woman's trousers are made of blue cotton cloth and are fastened around the waist with a rope twisted of sheep's wool. On the legs of the trousers, just below the knee, there is a hem of white cotton cloth. To this hem is sewn the lower leg of the trousers which can easily be removed and replaced, when the women go to festivals, with a leg of finer cloth or of silk or satin, embroidered in red. Ordinarily, the legs of the trousers are stuffed into the tops of the boots, but the ornamental trouser leg can be worn outside the boot. As with men's trousers, the cut is that of Chinese trousers, and the tradition is that in older times trousers were not used at all. The Monguor women of the villages north of the valleys of Weiyüanp'u and Hungnaitze wear trousers only on the coldest winter days and when they go to festivals.

Monguor women make their own boots. The sole is made of alternating layers of blue and white cotton cloth pasted together and then stitched, the foot of the boot is made of dark blue cotton cloth, sometimes beautifully embroidered, and the legs are ornamented with patches of dark leather. The foot of the boot may also be made of black cotton cloth, adorned with green

[10] For references to this monastery, see Reginald Farrar, *On the eaves of the world* and *The rainbow bridge*, London, Arnold, 1917 and 1921.

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462 stitching. The leg of the boot is of dark blue cotton cloth and reaches to the knee. Stockings are not worn.
294 Some women pull their boots on over bare feet, others wrap their feet with long strips of cotton cloth. The designs embroidered on ornamental boots are Chinese —swastikas and other designs, and flowers such as violets, roses, or peonies.

554 The boots and the sash are important items in the
292 trousseau of a Monguor bride—they display her proficiency in embroidery. Months of work go into the preparation of them, and girls learn the art of embroidering from older women. A pair of fine boots, worn only on festive occasions, is expected to last a lifetime. At festivals, if it is rainy or muddy, women can be seen walking barefoot carrying their precious boots under their arms, laughing and chatting as they trudge through the mud and putting on their boots only at the last moment. At such gatherings, boots and sashes are the articles that women compare and admire or envy; often a fine pair of boots is taken off and passed around the admiring circle of women while the proud owner modestly watches from the corner of her eyes, gracefully accepting compliments and congratulations. After
291 the age of about forty, however, the woman puts aside her fancy foots and wears boots of a more simple style. An important part of the costume is a sort of apron which covers the chest and stomach. The upper part is of white cotton cloth, and the lower part of green cloth. The lower part is often beautifully embroidered with flowers, swastikas, or the Chinese characters signifying "longevity" and "happiness." On the lower part is sewed a large pocket in which women keep their needle cases, thread, and all kinds of odds and ends. The upper part of the apron hangs from a string around the neck, while the lower part is tied behind the back with laces.

Under her apron a woman wears a short shirt, reaching to the hips, made of red or green or violet cotton cloth. In winter this shirt is doubled and wadded with cotton or wool. Rich people wear shirts of satin or silk.

The woman's gown is a long, full robe, reaching to the heels, with wide sleeves. The front of the gown overlaps on the left side, and buttons under the left arm and down the side while the man's gown, as already described, buttons down the right side. Except for wealthy people, the gown is ordinarily of blue cotton cloth. Another gown of the same size and pattern is worn over the first gown. This outer gown is roughly woven from the wool of sheep or goats. As this wool has not been cleaned of its natural oil before being woven, it is heavy, warm, and sheds water well. In some places where the Monguor women, like Tibetan women, do not wear trousers, these two gowns are the only clothing. A girdle or sash holds both gowns in at the waist. For poor people, this is the only fastening of the gown; buttons are not used.

292 For festive dress the rough outer gown is not worn

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292 hanging beside the ends of the sash now take the place of this flag, while the jingling of the string of copper coins take the place of the rustling noise formerly made by the tasseled paper strips.

The following description of the costume of the Miao women of southern and southwest China shows many striking resemblances to Monguor costume:

> All the collars are usually so loaded with designs and embroidery in all shapes and all colors that it is difficult to see the color of the fabric. The sleeves, similarly are covered with bands of fabric of different colors, sewn on in flounces from the wrist to the elbow. In some tribes the boys wear as many flounces as the girls. Among the White Miao the skirts have no ornamentation whatever except pleats, but in most of the other tribes they are hidden under embroidery done in colored thread, patterns made with wax [11] and a multiplicity of bits of fabric of various colors sewn on to the skirt. The Miao women make all these embroideries . . . they all know how to embroider, cut clothes, and sew . . .[12]

302 Even more important for a Monguor woman than her clothes are her hair and her headdress. Hair as black as ebony is the most admired. Many Monguors have a reddish tinge in their black hair, but women consider this a blemish. The way of doing the hair and the headdress are strictly ruled by tradition. When a girl marries out of her own group, she must adopt the coiffure of her husband's group.

There are a few exceptions to this rule. In the subprefecture of Maopeisheng there are groups of Monguors who settled as "colonists" from overcrowded regions. The tendency was for groups coming from the same region to settle together. When new brides go to these colonies, they are allowed to wear the coiffure of their group or origin for only three days—a sort of affectionate and touching farewell to the past—after which they must adopt the local fashion. Among the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, of Shat'o origin, where denationalization has gone farthest, sometimes as many as three different ways of doing the hair can be seen in the same family. I have heard Monguors of other clans criticizing the Li T'u-ssu for not doing his duty in keeping up the traditions of his clan in this respect.

291 292 Under the empire, Chinese women in this part of China never wore hats. Monguor married women, in contrast, always wear a hat, even at home. Not only do the elders insist on the observance of this tradition, but other people would laugh at a bareheaded woman. At home a small, round felt hat is worn and on holidays a special hat, different for each group. Only when a woman has left her husband's house for a visit at her parents' home is she allowed to go without a hat—a sentimental privilege giving her parents the illusion of seeing her again as she was before she was married. In contrast with this custom is the fact that a woman who

[11] This reference is to a method of making patterns, leaving part of the fabric exposed and covering part of it with wax to prevent the dye from reaching it.—O. L.

[12] Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, as cited. [P. 121a]

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has passed the age of forty and would not ordinarily continue to wear her ceremonial hat on festive occasions will, if her parents are still alive, continue to wear it for a few more years in order to give her parents the feeling that they have not reached extreme old age. In such cases, the woman also wears for a few extra years her fancy extra sleeves and the other showy parts of her costume. After the death of her parents, however, all this finery is put away forever, and she wears only the small felt hat.

291 302

There are nine different styles of hairdress and hat, each peculiar to one Monguor group. The spellings given below are taken, in simplified form, from the phonetic transcriptions in *Dictionnaire Monguor-français*, by A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert. The basic term for the Monguor woman's headdress is *niudar*, and according to these authorities its etymology appears to be obscure. It may be from an old word for "head," or from a word possibly meaning "bridle."

1. *rdziämu niudar*. This style is called "the Chinese style," from the Tibetan word *rgyanu*, "Chinese." The Monguors explain that in early times this style was peculiar to the Monguors, but that it was adopted by the women of the first Chinese colonists who settled in the region. This explanation is reasonable enough, since nowhere in China do women arrange their hair in this way. The foundation of this headdress is made by cutting strips of black or dark blue cotton cloth six inches long and three inches wide, which are pasted together to make a stiff board a quarter of an inch thick. While this board is still wet and soft, it is stretched over a convex tile to give it a curved shape. A hole is cut in the middle of this board.

To dress the hair, a lock is first combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is combed straight back to the nape of the neck, twisted loosely, and tied with red string. The tress of hair from the back of the head is then brought up to the top of the head, twisted together with the lock of hair from the forehead, fastened with red string, and passed through the hole in the pasteboard "crown" and twisted into a "bun." Several pins three inches long are stuck through this "bun" to hold it. It should be noted here that Monguor women neither shave their forehead nor pluck their eyebrows as Chinese women used to do.

With this headdress there goes a pair of earrings which are made as follows: from the hole pierced in the ear there hangs a silver hook. To this is soldered a small plate representing the head of a tiger, from which hang five small chains. To these chains is soldered a plate with flower designs, from which hang seven small silver chains. The weight of the earring is held up by a string running back of the ear.

This headdress is used by the women of the valley of Lumen, near the sub-prefecture of Xienpei. The rest of the costume that goes with this headdress consists of

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302 a long blue gown reaching to the knees, a sleeveless jacket, blue or violet trousers, Chinese socks, and instead of boots a kind of shoe with long upcurving toes. The men of this group dress in the Chinese fashion but still wear the Monguor felt hat. The group contains subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu who still speak the Monguor language, but at the time that I was in the region they were rapidly being assimilated to the Chinese. It is worth noting that, although the women of this group do not wear the "military" skirt or the shield and spear described below, they are convinced that the way in which they do their hair is the original, ancestral style of the days of Chingis Khan.

2. The *Huari niudar* (or *Barbardzin niudar*, "crested hat"). This is the style worn by the women of the region of Huari, north of the Hsining River. First, a lock of hair is combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is parted in the middle, and made into two braids, one on each side of the head. The ends of these braids are tightly tied together with red string. A ribbon of black cotton is tied around the head. Another ribbon of the same material goes over the top of the head, and the forehead lock is tucked back into it. The rest of this headdress is made as follows:

A head is roughly molded of clay and strips of cotton cloth are pasted on this mold, to form a pasteboard skull-

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Fig. 4. Huari Niudar. Front and back views of a poor Monguor widow with her two children. She wears the headdress called "Huari Niudar." Note details: shield, spear, disc, red strings, shells, corals, etc.

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302 cap. A high, semicircular brim is pasted on the forehead of the cap. Strips of red, blue, green, and white cotton fabric are then pasted on the crown. A tassel of thin red strings is pasted in a semicircle across the crown of the cap, from side to side. Behind this tassel, small copper rods are set in semicircles. A hole is made in the crown of the cap; when the cap is set on the head, a ribbon is braided into the forehead tress, pulled back under the cap, brought up through this hole, and rolled into a small bun. Two long pins are pushed criss-cross through the bun, and the bun is then covered with an inverted copper cup, transfixed by a large horizontal pin. This cup and pin represent the shield and spear of the warrior. Thin red strings attached to the pins under the cup are looped up and attached to the "spear" pin. At the back of this headdress there is a disc, made by pasting pieces of cotton cloth together, trimmed around the edge with pieces of cloth of different colors and encrusted with shells, pearls, mother of pearl, corals, and turquoise, imitation and genuine. This disc is held firm to the skullcap by red strings.

The earrings that go with this headdress are large and heavy. To the hook that hangs from the ear is soldered a plate with a dragon, tiger, or flower design. From this plate hang silver sticks or pins. To prevent these heavy earrings from tearing the ears, their weight is held up

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by a ribbon which is attached to the ribbon going around the head, and each earring is attached to the other by a chain encrusted with coral or pearls which passes under the chin.

This headdress is worn by the women of the valleys of Hungnai, Shuimo, and Ch'angsha. At home, these women wear a hat representing only the upper part of the headdress, without the ornaments.

3. *T'oguäan niudar* (*T'ukuan niudar*). This headdress, worn only by the women of the region under the jurisdiction of the T'ukuan Living Buddha, is the same as the one just described, with the exception that instead of the semicircle on the forehead there is a three-pronged pasteboard fork. The earrings that go with this headdress are the same as those described above.

FIG. 5. Huari Niudar. A rich Monguor woman in home dress, wearing the Huari Niudar or "crested headdress," but without the encumbering disc on the back. She wears the winter jacket, wadded with wool or cotton, and is proud of her motherly sleeves.

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4. *Sge niudar* ("great" or "honorable" headdress). The mold or skullcap for this headdress is made as previously described. On the top of it is pasted a miniature winnowing basket, for which reason this headdress is also known as the "winnowing basket" headdress. In front, there are tassels of red thread, and at the sides are fringes of red thread. In the middle of the front of the headdress there are pieces of glass or porcelain and one or two rows of pieces of shell or coral. At the back are eight movable copper plates, which are taken off when at home. In the middle of these eight plates are the historic miniature shield and spear, from which hang red threads. Under the shield there is a small crescent shaped cushion, held by the ribbons which go around the head. This cushion is covered with black yak hair. Whenever a woman goes to a festival, she puts hemp oil on this cushion to make it shine. This cushion is called "the heart of the hair." As in numbers 2 and 3 described above, there is a strong ribbon going around the head and a central ribbon from the forehead to the nape of the neck. A small braid is plaited from the forehead lock, to be attached to the ribbon going over the top of the head, and the remainder of the hair is parted in the middle and combed over the ears in graceful waves. The ends of the hair falling over the ears are twisted together, tied with a ribbon to the forehead braid, and brought up through the hole in the skullcap to form a bun, which is covered with the "shield" and fixed with the "spear."

With this headdress is worn a collar woven of tamarisk twigs, covered with red cotton cloth to which are sewn shells and corals. The earrings are the same as those described under number 2. A red shirt is worn with this headdress. Instead of copper, rich people use a silver shield, 8 silver plates, silver pins, and silver earrings. Ordinarily, this headdress is given to a girl at the time of her marriage by her parents. It is worn up to the age of forty. To protect the headdress women always carry with them a large piece of cotton cloth to wrap around their heads in case of rain. When a woman dies, this headdress is offered to a monastery. It is sold by the monastery at public auction, and prayers are said for the dead woman according to the price at which the headdress has been auctioned.

This headdress weighs six or seven pounds (four or five Chinese *chin*), and the women who wear it walk like living statues; when they talk together, they move their heads slowly and majestically.

5. *Dzion niudar* ("needle headdress"). This headdress is like the one just described, except that the eight plates around the shield are smaller, and that a set of large copper pins forms a sort of halo around the shield. This headdress is worn by the Ximn women of Lungwu and the Tsanskwor region.

6. *Sgulong niudar* ("rain-spout" headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the "winnowing basket" is depressed between the two side-

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FIG. 6. Sgo Nundar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. The woman in the middle is of Tibetan origin but enrolled in a Monguor clan. She wears the simple Tibetan costume. The two on each side are Monguor, wearing the elaborate Monguor costume and the monumental "great" or "honorable" headdress. The photograph shows the pattern of the jacket, the double set of sleeves, the sash, the collar with shells and corals, and the enormous headdress described in the text.

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bunches of hair, and is level with the "shield." It is worn by the women of the region of Areche, west of Weiyüanp'u, by those of Ch'ichiarechu, and those of Machiarechu of T'assu, near Weiyuanp'u.

7. *Yu niudar* ("disc" headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the cushion covered with yak hair is replaced by a small disc adorned with pieces of shell and coral.

8. *Ndziäse niudar* ("plow" headdress). This headdress is again the same as number 4, except that its dimensions are smaller. The red fringes in front are longer. Formerly, the eight plates were worn at the back, but in recent times they have been replaced by a piece of red cotton cloth. The two tresses from the sides of the head and the small tress and ribbon from the forehead are fastened together at the nape of the neck around a small piece of wood, tied with red strings, and passed through the skullcap so that they hold it in place. The "shield" and "spear" are pinned to the knot of hair that comes through the skullcap.

Special earrings are worn with this headdress. They are made of silver in the shape of a *Z*. The lower part

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291 of the Z is passed through the lobe of the ear and then
302 turned up to hook into the upper part. It is said that this is the primitive design of all Monguor earrings, and there is a tradition that such earrings were formerly made of bones. It almost seems that they might be a relic of the neolithic period before metal was used.

9. *Sogmu nindar* ("Mongol woman's") headdress, from the Tibetan *sogmu*, "a Mongol woman." This way of doing the hair, preserved among only one of nine Monguor groups, is that which most nearly resembles, in essentials, the Mongol style of hairdress. The hair is parted in the middle of the head and braided in two plaits which hang down in front of the shoulders on the chest. Each braid is wrapped in a sheath which reaches nearly to the knees, and the sheath is both held in by the sash and buttoned to the gown to keep it firm. The sheaths worn on holidays are embroidered. A small round felt hat goes with this headdress, which is used by the women of Patsasanch'eng and of the valley of Hualin.

302 Anthropologists often overlook the psychological im-
291 portance of customs and costumes. It seems to me that
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[p. 124c]

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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in spite of the poor materials used by the Monguors, the clumsiness of the headdresses, and certain childish aspects of the festivals at which these costumes are paraded, it is important to realize that all this display, pathetic though it may seem, brings happiness to the people, especially the women. Whenever I attended festivals in the Monguor country I could not but notice the atmosphere of joy and happiness, especially among the women. The holiday and the opportunity to display their costumes gave them psychologically a reinforcement of their self-esteem, and when they went home they were better able

FIG. 7. Sge Niudar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. Back view of the costume shown in fig. 6, showing the historical shield and spear, the eight movable plates, the cushion forming the "heart of the hair," and the tassels and fringes.

[P. 125a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks, they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

Both married and unmarried women wear bracelets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand—sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

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FIG. 8. Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin, whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

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651 Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

The shamans are also affected by the need for asso-
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177 ciation with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations,
467 with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

462 The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These con-

[P. 126b]

2: Schram--196 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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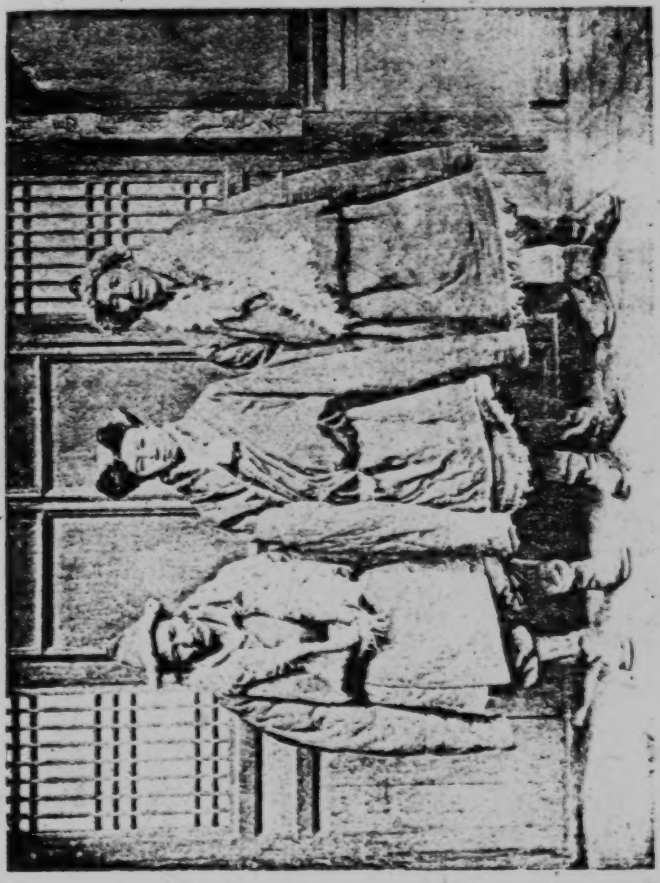

The young man in the center is [illegible], a holy man. He wears on his chest a Buddhist reliquary.

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2: Schram--3971-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

Young T'ou-jen woman, given in marriage to a Tibetan family.

The father-in-law is leading the lucky couple and the mother-in-law has the baby in her arms. The whole group wears Tibetan costume.

2. Schram--198 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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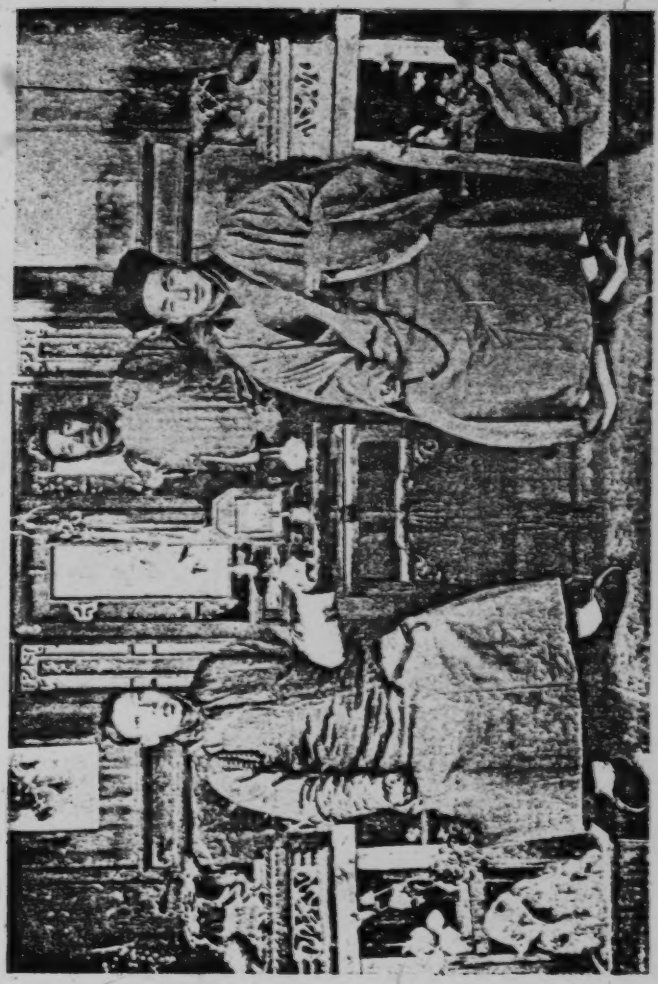

An Ing-tang Sien-sheng Chinese, in front of the door of his house.
At the left his pupil-apprentice, and behind the old servant.

2: Schram--203 M-4,5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Left, a T'ou-jen lama wearing the dress of the yellow lamas.
Center, his superior, T'ou-jen lama in Chinese dress.
Right, a lay T'ou-jen, their servant.

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2: Schram--204 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

T'ou-jen widow with her two daughters, in T'ou-jen dress.

Note the hair style. There are nine kinds of them. Li Kin-wang, ancestor of the Li clan had nine wives and each of them had her special hair style; from that the nine T'ou-jen hair styles still seen today!

2: Schram--205 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Two girls belonging to a Tibetanized T'ou-jen family. They wear the dress of the girls of Hoa-ri (northern Sining). The older one is spinning with the distaff and carries at the nape of the neck the stick to which she fastens the thread; the little one pulls out the wool.

2: Schram--206 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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A T'ou-jen with his son; they wear Chinese clothes (country of Nien-pei, Sining).

2: Sabiam--207 M-4, 8 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Rich T'ou-jen widow, no longer speaking her language, wearing no longer the costume of her race. Type of completely Sinicized T'ou-jen, even having the little Chinese feet. However, at her death she will be dressed in the T'ou-jen style for her last toilette!

8: Schröder--84 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

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Plate I

a

b

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c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[46 cont.]

[Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer, 1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guämbasoma) in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan. Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof; this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter: "The Gurtum.")

3: Schröder--86 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

Plate 2

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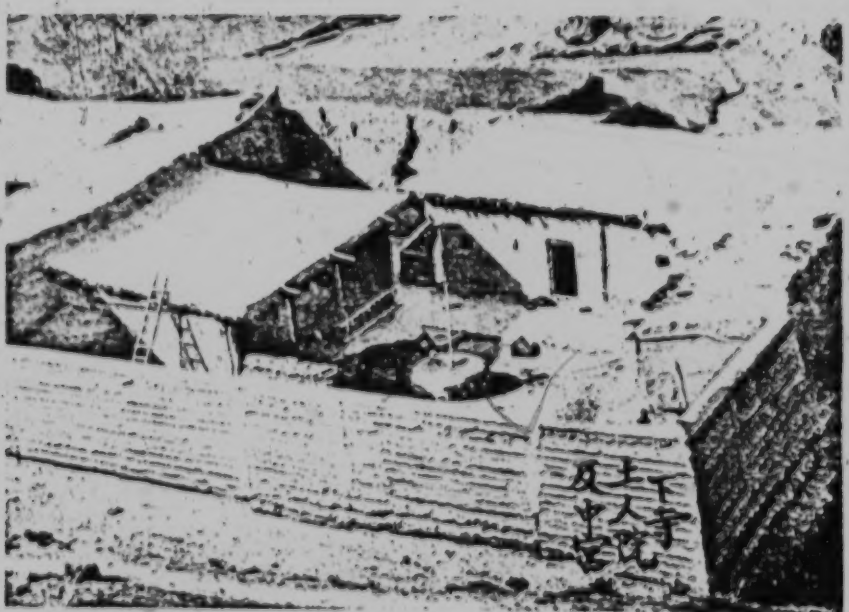

(Caption on following page.)

3: Schröder--87 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Caption for Plate 2 between pp. 48 and 49.]

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a: Mani-tree on a house roof in the village T'a-erh-wan west of Tangkar in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

b: An old Tujen from the Yang-p'o-t'ai on the way to the obo of the Sha-pa-kou, 1949. In his right hand a poplar branch with flocks of wool, in his left and imitation spear with a flock of wool and painted spiral. In front of him on the ground: a
[782] bundle of straw for the incense fire, a saddle bag with white stones that will be thrown on the obo, a jug of barley wine for the libation, and behind it a little bag with cypress needles (incense). (To accompany the chapter: "The Obo.")

[342]
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c: A Tujen yard of the settlement Ha-szu (Hsia-szu) on the way from Na-ling-kou to Yang-chüan. In the center of the yard, the central fort with the mani-tree. Summer, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Mani-tree.")

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2. The Arrow of Good Fortune*

*See "Notes," pp. 52-55 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

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In every good Tujen house there is an arrow. The tip is stuck in an urn of grain, in a crevice in the wall, or in a slit in a beam. Hadas, colorful ribbons, sheep wool, hair, etc. are attached to the arrow. The arrow is consecrated by a lama or a Bon priest, and on this occasion it is venerated in the house. Later, however, it is not venerated any more. The arrow is not the seat of a spirit, but rather guarantees good fortune and wealth in the family.

3? Schröder--105 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[57 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 60-61 cont.]
(cf. Filchner, Unkrig, p. 21) that is part of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad). Ch. Das (p. 313) explains the rgyal-mts'an (Sanskritic dhvajā) as a war banner or victory sign of Buddhism; it is the official standard of the Buddhists. One often finds it as garment trimming in various colors or as a cloth cylinder on flagpoles or on a post. Sometimes it is made of brass or wood. Furthermore, Ch. Das cites 11 kinds of rgyal-mts'an in Tibetan Buddhism, which fight the demonic powers.

The Chinese translation san (screen) might be misleading and point to the first of the eight offerings, the white screen, gdugs dkar (Sanskritic chattra); cf. Ch. Das, p. 69 (bkra šis ...), and Filchner, Unkrig, p. 21. -- The Tujen do not differentiate precisely here.

*778

The multicolored cover is found in the most diverse varieties; [61] as column drapes in the temples, as gigantic cloth bells or screens, on ceremonial standards, on trident masts, as curtains, etc. In other words, it does not represent a peculiarity of the mani-tree. Because the rgyal-mts'an also occurs as garment trimming (cf. above), the colorful ring-trimming on the sleeves of the Tujen costume is probably connected with it, which, indeed, is often drawn on as a cloth funnel.

•[291]

The mani-flag: The flag consists of a long piece of white cloth. Usually it is cotton cloth, which can be bought in town. It should always be new and faultless. One leaves the original width of the cloth as it is, in other words, about 30 to 50 centimeters. The length depends on the mani-mast, for the flag is

/Kansu Monguors/

N *563 M 142 have very scanty beard, and there is seldom any growth of hair on the body.

e. economic activities

N *563 M [241] [233] [433] The Mongours gave up their nomadic way of life and became farmers. They cultivate barley, wheat, peas, rapeseed, colza, hemp and potatoes. The second important economic resource is livestock, consisting of horses, cows, mules, pigs and sheep. The Mongours are also good hunters and fishermen. The Mongours now live in brick and mud houses resembling their former tent (yurt).

M [291] [177] [771] Until recently the Mongours wore their national costumes. However, when the Communists took over they ordered them to wear only Chinese clothing.

By religion, the Mongours are Lamaist-Buddhists.

2. Other groups

Besides the Mongours, there are Ölöts and Torguts living in Kansu. They are similar in all respects to the Olots and Torguts of Sinkiang.

C. The Mongols of Chinghai

1. General characteristics

N [177] Due to the new partition of the province, some of the Mongours now belong to Chinghai Province. Very little is known about the Eastern Mongols living around the Tsaidam and Kokonor areas. However, all explorers' reports say that they have become more and more Tibetanized and are forgetting their own Mongolian language. They are still pastoral nomads like the Ölots and the Torguts of Sinkiang.

N [233]

2. Hordes

N *563 619 361 *[175] When Tafel (between 1905 and 1908) travelled in the Chinghai area he found the following groups of Mongols:

(1) Wang-ka or the horde of the Chinghai Wang, consisting of 150-350 families, of which one group nomadized on the Dulan-gol, west of the Kokonor, and the other group lived around the monasteries of Gomba-soma and Minia-ta;

(2) the horde of the Muri Wang, about 50 families, which nomadized on the upper course of the Ta-tung River;

(3) the horde of the Kukut Bei-le, about 200 families, which nomadized around the Serkhe-nor, northeast of the Tsaidam swamps;

(4) the horde of the Kurluk Bei-tse, about 800 families which nomadized around the Bagha Tsaidam area;

(5) the horde of the Merkhe Bei-tse westwards of 4; there is no information about population figures.

(6) the horde of Shui-hia Bei-tse in the valley above Bamba; there is no further information about population figures.

(7) the horde of the Gobi Gung, which nomadized in the area of Tankar;

/The Monguors/

men make their own pipes from the leg bone of a sheep. The smoking kit, a small pouch holding tobacco, a pinch of tinder and some small flints, hangs on the belt at the waist. The light is obtained by striking tinder against the flint.

c. Clothing

The Mongours have always been proud of their national costume, though since the enrollment of some Chinese into their clans, a few communities have adopted Chinese clothing. During the rule of the Chinese Nationalist government, most of the Mongours kept their own costume. According to Father Schram, who made a thorough investigation of the people, they were not allowed to wear the national costume after the Communists conquered their country in 1949. It is not known whether the Communists are continuing their policy of obliterating the distinct costumes and traditions of the small minorities.

The clothing of the Mongours is not greatly different from that of the Mongols. Traditionally, the men dress much less elaborately than the women. A man ordinarily wears a dark blue cotton gown, similar to that of the Chinese, that opens on the right side and hangs a little below the knees. The upper part of the gown is loose and a sash or belt is worn at the waist, making a copious pocket in which the man carries his eating bowl and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown of roughly woven white wool. Festival gowns of the rich are of silk or satin, and a vest or sleeveless jacket is worn over the gown. The ordinary man wears a cotton gown and jacket for festive occasions, with a plain silk or cotton sash.

In the old days, men wore trousers only when they went to town. Now they regularly wear blue cotton trousers cut in the Chinese style, with the legs stuffed into their cloth-topped knee boots. The tops of dress boots are sometimes embroidered. In winter, leather boots are worn. Few Mongours wear undercloth-ing, and neither men nor women wear stockings.

Almost every young man wears a silver-plated bracelet carved with Chinese designs, and most men wear finger rings set with coral or turquoise.

The woman's gown is very full, has wide sleeves, and hangs to her heels. It overlaps in front, and buttons down the left side. An outer gown of coarse, unwashed wool is used as a working garment. Because of the natural oil in the wool, the gown sheds water well. A sash or girdle holds both gowns at the waist. Generally the poor do not wear trousers, the two gowns being their only garments.

Well-to-do women have elaborate and gaily colored festival dresses, fancy trousers and false sleeves. Like the Mongol women, they wear fancy headdresses and boots for dress occasions. At such times the outer gown is left off and the inner

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

M [888]

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

a. Ancestor worship

N *563 M 769 614 Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

[323 cont.]

T 142 look in their earliest childhood, which is then lost when they get older.

34. Mongolian woman from the Ra lo tribe near Tchü tsang se, Ta tung hiän, with pronounced Mongoloid features, consisting of strong zygomatic arches, Mongolian fold, deep-saddled button shaped nose, flat face and high forehead.

M Figures 25-39. ~~Tu jen~~ (Monguor or Dolden)

142 35. Two women from the Dung kou near Hu chu; the man beside them 302 is a Turk. In the women the Mongolian features are quite 301 pronounced. The Monguor are Old Mongolians, who parted 291 at an early date from the present Mongolians. In contrast to them the Turk with his profiled face and the heavy growth of beard shows the European stamp of the Old Form [Altform] like Figures 14 and 45. The Tu jen wear the most varied forms of fantastic head ornamentation, made of cloth and twisted strings, and they like bright-colored, gay clothes with pretty embroidery. Noteworthy are the stuffed animals (made of cloth) as decoration: rabbit and lamb on the woman on the right; horse and crab on the woman in the middle.

36. Forty-year old woman from the vicinity of Hu chu with a string of mussel shells on her breast.

37. Tu jen woman with a trident headdress from the vicinity of Lo tu. She shows the long-faced Mongoloid type.

38. Eighteen-year old Tu jen bride from the Ho ngä dse kou. The Mongolian fold is missing; the nose is higher.

T 142 301 39. Thirty-five year old Angar woman from the Ba ya ta wan tribe near Kan chow in Nän shän. By language the Angar are Old Mongolians like the Tu jen. The women has a strikingly thin and narrow nose with a bent tip. The open eye has no Mongolian fold. The face is long and narrow and of a Europid strain. Typical for the Angar women are the braid-covers made of metal rings with stones and enamel.

[324]

T Figures 40-54 Mixed types

142 40. Twenty-two year old agricultural Tibetan woman from the vicinity of Tchü tsang se, Ta tung hiän. The long narrow nose, the long lower part of the face and the open eyes show

[324 cont.]

T 142 [291 301] European character and childish features. The gaily colored clothes and the rich ornamentation betray Tibeto-Mongolian admixture. The rectangular and round amulet caskets on the breast and the palettes on the beautifully stitched stola-like bands are fine silver work. The lengths of cloth that are suspended from the hips have mussel-shell ornaments and are a characteristic decoration of the Amdo agricultural Tibetan women.

41. Tibeto-Mongolian mixed type with strong Mongoloid components. Thirty-year old women from Tchü tsang tän, Ta tung.

42. Sino-Tibetan mixed type from Wu dschung near Rong bu; a military colony of the Sung period took Tibetan women as wives. This type might well stem from Eastern Europe or Russia.

M 142 291 276 43. Tu jen man from the Ha la dshe kou, Hu chu hiän. The nose is Europid. On the clothing one sees the high collar, a sharp contrast to the Chinese fashion. In his hand he holds a snuff box carved of yak horn, which is kept in a finely embroidered cloth bag.

U 142 44. Uigur man from the Ya la ker tribe near Kao tai, with a Europid character, with a large, narrow nose ar larger earlobes.

T 142 45. A Turk whose ancestors emigrated centuries ago from East Turkestan to Kan su and later to Tsing hai; he is of the Old Form [Altform] type like figures 14 and 54. The high fleshy nose has distended alae. The filter is absent. The skin fold of the upper lid is, to be sure, very strong, but the Mongolian fold is missing. The lips are thin. The face is wide and coarse. The beard-growth is heavy (cf. Figure 3).

46. Northwestern Chinese type: the upper lid falls away sharply, but forms no Mongolian fold. The nose is narrow and large. The face is long and narrow. The zygomatic arches are only slightly pronounced. The forehead recedes slightly.

47. Five-year old nomad boy from the Ra gya A rig tribe. Since the nose is now so clearly defined, it will later become big (cf. the remarks on children under Figure 33). His clothing is a sheepskin worn next to the bare body.

T [291]

7: Hermanns - [illegible] E, 5 (1935-1945) 1948 AJ1 Tibet
Monguor AE7
Ulgur AI4

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43) Tu jen (man)

44) Uigur (Ugur)

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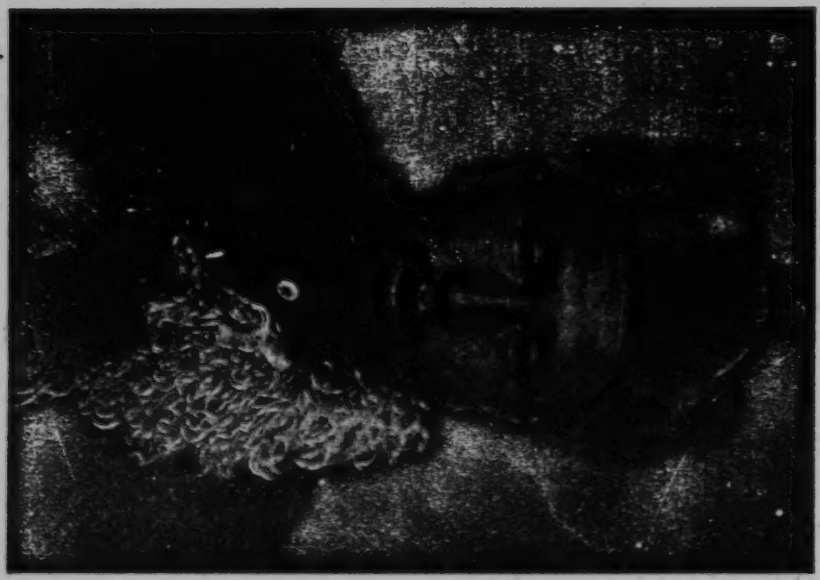

7: Hermanns--334 E.5 (1935-1945) 1948 AJ1 Tibet
Monguor AE9

142
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35) Tu jen (Dung kou)

36) Tu jen

7: Hermanns--335 E, 5 (1935-1945) 1948 AJI Tibet
Mongwer AEq
#2
291
301
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37) Tu jen
(Lo tu)

38) Tu jen
(Ilo nä dse)